1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui ?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafilimoeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatolo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailoatonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father.

Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo patterns to distinguish members of different lineages.

Agents or ambassadors (*malanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fotofili, the chief of Niuafoou, was placed in the Haa Takalaua with some hesitation by my informant. Fulivai of the Vavau group claims membership in this lineage, as does also Kalauta of Vavau (through his father). Eua Island is a stronghold of this lineage. There the chiefs Hama and Vakauta claim membership. Anciently their forefathers sent presents to the Tui Haa Takalaua in Tongatabu.

Haa Vaea

The eponymous ancestor of Haa Vaea was Vaea, the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua. It is thus definitely linked with the Tui Haa Takalaua, just as certain important lineages of today are linked with the Tui Kanokupolu. At present the head of this *haa* is Taliauli, the adopted brother of the late Luani who was the head until his death in 1917. (Taliauli is the son of Veehala of the Haa Ngata Motua.) (See p. 22.) Another chief of the lineage is Falekaono. One informant stated that Luani was not a member of her family although Haa Vaea was the *haa* of her mother; a bit of negative evidence which strengthens the patrilineal aspect of the *haa*.

Haa Ngata Motua

Haa Ngata Motua is distinct from Haa Ngata Tupu. Ngata was the son of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua, Moungatonga, and was appointed to the newly created office of Tui Kanokupolu by his father. The purpose in the creation of the new office seems to have been to relieve the Tui Haa Takalaua of some of his duties. In other words, the Tui Kanokupolu was appointed as a lieutenant to the Tui Haa Takalaua, just as more than a century before the Tui Haa Takalaua was appointed as a lieutenant to the Tui Tonga to relieve him of various temporal duties and to guard him against assassination.

To the Haa Ngata Motua belong the following chiefs: Ahio of Kolovai who is the highest chief, Maafu-o-Tui-Tonga of Foui, Veehala of Fahefa, Ata of Kolovai, Ngalungalu of Neiafu in Tongatabu, Kapukava, Ahomee of Haa Vakatolo, Vahai of Foui, and Hafoka of Eua Island. Ata is the head of the lineage, although Ahio is higher in rank, as is the Tui Kanokupolu, who is claimed by this lineage.

The title Ahomee antedates the first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, for we find that Ngata's two wives were daughters of Ahomee. Moreover, the mother of the Tui Tonga Telea, two generations before Ngata's time, was the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavaka-vao-leleva. It seems clear that the inclusion of Ahomee represents another fiction. It is possible that the title Ahomee was bestowed on one of Ngata's sons, but there is not a shred of

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

evidence to show that it was. It seems more likely that the title continued to descend in the male line but that the holders were merged in the Haa Ngata, perhaps for political reasons. 613

Momotu, a chief elsewhere listed as belonging to the Haa Havea, is also claimed by Haa Ngata Motua. It is said that the present holder of the title belongs to the Haa Havea only through his mother, and that through his father he belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Momotu was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, the putative ancestor of the Haa Havea. [611]

Vahai, it is said, was formerly of the Haa Latu Hifo but was transferred as an agent or representative to the Haa Ngata Motua by Nuku and Niukapu, in order to be in close touch with the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Ngata Motua so highly prized his fighting prowess that they invited him to become a member and thus strengthen the Haa Ngata Motua.

Latukefu, another member of the Haa Ngata Motua and not originally a chief, became a member by invitation.

The Tui Kanokupolu is sometimes placed in another lineage, the Haa Maafu, of which he is head. This *haa* is also called the Haa Mounga (Mountain) or Haa Moheofo (Wife of the Tui Tonga). It is really a lineage within a lineage, a crowning subdivision of the Haa Ngata Motua. The second synonym, Haa Moheofo, refers to the fact that the later Tui Tonga selected as chief wife (*moheofo*) the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, hence the lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu has the designation of Haa Moheofo. This lineage, if it may be called such, is also designated as the Haa Tui Kanokupolu. The only chief beside the Tui Kanokupolu who belongs to it is Tupoutoa. [643]

In the Tamaha's genealogies, the following statement is made concerning the Haa Maafu. The head of the lineage is Taliai Tupou, that is, the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Maafu are the true younger brothers of the Tui Kanokupolu, their children, and their grandchildren through males.

The custom of the relatives of the wife of a great chief coming to live at his establishment has lead to considerable mixture of population. This is especially true in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, the seat of the powerful Haa Ngata Motua chiefs. The wives of these chiefs were derived in large measure from various other lineages. 613 622 602

Haa Latu Hifo

The putative ancestor of Haa Latu Hifo was the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. His two "sons" (recognized also as "brothers" of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu) and their descendants constitute the lineage. To-day they are represented by the chiefs Niukapu and Nuku. Together, the Tui 613

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Of marriages of Tui Kanokupolu to daughters of the Tui Tonga, but one is recorded, that of Mataeletuapiko to Fatafehi. Marriages to daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were more popular. The first recorded is that of Mataelehaamea to Kaloafutonga, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua (Vaea). The fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna) married Lehauku, daughter of the twelfth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tui Onukulava); the thirteenth Tui Kanokupolu (Mumui) married Vailolomoli, daughter of the tenth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tatafu), and Mulikihaamea (the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu and last Tui Haa Takalaua) married Tupouahau and Mapatoutai, daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.

Although office in Tonga passes from father to son, rank is determined even more by the mother than by the father. Therefore a list of the mothers of the Tui Kanokupolu is of interest.

1. Ngata. Mother, Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama of Safata, Upolu Island, Samoa.
2. Atamataila. Mother, Kaufoou, daughter of Ahomee.
3. Mataeletuapiko. Mother, Tokilupe, daughter of Tui Haa Tuunga, of Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island.
4. Mataelehaamea. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
5. Vuna. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Mother, Kaloafutonga, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea.
7. Tupoulahi. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
8. Macaliuaki. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
9. Tuihalafatai. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
10. Tupoulahisii. Mother, Uheina, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.
11. Mulikihaamea. Mother, Lupematakui, daughter of Tungimanaia, the Tui Haa Teiho.
12. Mumui. Mother, Popua.
13. Tupoumoheofo. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
14. Tukuaho. Mother, Lepolo, daughter of Atafakahau, the second Ata.
15. Maafulimuloa. Mother, Kaufusi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Mother, Pee.
17. Tupoutoa. Mother, Uluakilupetea.
18. Aleamotua. Josiah, or Tupou in Faletuipapai. Mother, Kaufusi, daughter of Fielakepa.
19. George I (Taufaahau I). Mother, Hoamofaleono, daughter of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
20. George II (Taufaahau II). Mother, Fusipala, son's daughter of Tui Kanokupolu George I.
21. Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. Mother, Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Kupu.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Although the first Tui Kanokupolu probably took up his residence in Hihifo as lord of the people of western Tongatabu, that district was not the perpetual residence of this enterprising line of chiefs. In Cook's time the Tui Kanokupolu was residing at Mua, the seat of the Tui Tonga and the

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become submerged politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Puakatea, and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga, were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna. 565 622 602

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, incurring enmity. 565 576

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai. These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu. The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives and the relatives of the Okoans. 622 565

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that person's inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners. 565 602 622

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves as related to the chief, although many of them were not. 622 602 837 [611]

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The 829 186

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Hereditary: matapule and *mua*
  Canoe builders (*tufunga fou vaka*)
  Cutters of whale-teeth (*tufunga fono lei*)
  Funeral directors (*tufunga tapu*)
Hereditary: *mua* and *tua*
  Stone-masons (*tufunga tao maka*) [or *aholangamaka*]
  Net-makers (*tufunga sia kupenga*)
  Fishermen (*tufunga toutai ika*)
  Large house builders (*tufunga langafale*)
Hereditary or not: *mua* and *tua*
  Tattooers (*tufunga ta tatau*)
  Club-carvers (*tufunga tongi akau*)
Hereditary or not: *tua*
  Barbers (*tufunga fai kava*)
Hereditary: *tua*
  Cooks (*tangata fei umu*)
  Peasants (*kai fonua*)

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It is to be noted that all of the occupations fall into matapule, *mua*, and *tua* ranks—people below the chiefly class. The term *tufunga* is applied generally to skilled artisans of all sorts. Artisans in addition to those listed by Mariner are *tufunga lalava* (sinnet artist) who applies the ornamental geometric designs in sinnet and *tufunga tui la*, sail maker. A ship carpenter not only does the actual carpentering but also the wrapping and tying of the sinnet. Many house carpenters, on the other hand, do only carpentering and leave the ornamental wrapping of the sinnet to the sinnet artist.

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In general, one man did not practice many different occupations. At the present time a *tufunga* in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, is both a house carpenter and a stone mason.

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The traditional origin of the various *tufunga* is unknown. The informant Josiah Paluto was positive that the first *tufunga langafale* in his family did not get the office from the Tui Tonga, but thinks it was a special reward for merit conferred by some local chief. All appointments were confirmed by the Tui Tonga, or by his local representatives; only those *tufunga* whose local chief was the Tui Tonga himself were invariably appointed directly by the Tui Tonga. Nowadays the Tui Kanokupolu confers the *tufunga* titles. As stated by informants, the rights of artisanship ran in the paternal line of descent, preference in each group being given to the oldest son. The order is: (a) sons; (b) brother's sons; (c) father's brother's sons and son's sons—(equal preference); (d) sister's sons; (e) father's sister's sons.

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The dominant determining element was the personal preference of the *tufunga*. If the father died before the son had reached dependable age, it became the family duty of that son to learn the craft as best he could, but not under the tutelage of a *tufunga* outside the family.

It was the duty of all sons to follow their father's trade but only the eldest son received his father's title. If the eldest son should so neglect his family duty as to repudiate the family craft, the next in order of relationship was given the opportunity, depending upon the choice of the old *tufunga*. An old *tufunga*, however, who arbitrarily and without apparent reason broke

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3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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565 have credible records, which is not more than
634 about four, or, at most, five generations, were
643 all relations of Tooitonga. At all events, this
613 is certain, that the present acknowledged fountains of nobility are Tooitonga, Veachi, and the king, in the order in which they here stand.
611 In every family nobility descends by the female
565 line; for where the mother is not a noble, the
593 children are not nobles; but supposing the father and mother to be nearly equal by birth, the following is the order in which the individuals of the family are to be ranked, viz. the father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest daughter, the second son, the second daughter, &c., or, if there be no children, the next brother to the man, then the sister, the second brother, the second sister, &c. But if the woman is more noble than the man, then her relations, in like order, take precedence in rank, but they do not inherit his property, as will be seen in another place. All the children of a female noble are, without exception, nobles.

565 The MATABOOLES rank next to the chiefs; they are a sort of honourable attendants upon chiefs, are their companions, counsellors, and advisers; they see that the orders and wishes of their chiefs are duly executed, and may not improperly be called their ministers, and are more or less regarded according to the rank of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

If a young girl is betrothed, or set apart to be the wife or concubine of a noble higher in rank than herself, she derives more respect on that account, independent of what is due to her own proper rank.

The women employ themselves (particularly nobles) in making a variety of articles, chiefly ornamental; these employments, however, are considered accomplishments, not professions: some of the higher class of women not only make these employments an amusement, but actually make a sort of trade of it, without prejudice to their rank; which is what the lower class of women could not do, because what *they* make is not their own property, but is done by the order of their superiors; the highest accomplishments cannot add to a woman's rank, though it does somewhat to the estimation in which she may be held, for such things, when well done, are honourable in a woman of rank. These things will be farther spoken of hereafter.

Children acquire their rank by inheritance, as before observed, from the mother's side: if she be not a noble they are not, and *vice versa*. If a man, however high his rank, were to have a child by a woman who is only a tooa, no matter whether they are married or not, (but indeed there is no instance of a noble marrying a tooa,) that child would not be a noble, though it were

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

611 565 [582] known that the father was a noble; the child might rank as a mooa, but not higher: on the contrary, if a woman who is a noble were to have a child by a tooa, the child would be a noble; but this perhaps seldom happens, for the pride of the females would not allow of such a low intrigue; or if such a circumstance were to take place, the greatest care would be used that it should not be known. Children 858 565 561 that are nobles are somewhat less respected, as may be supposed, on account of their childhood; but then any familiarity or slight disrespect that might be shewn them would only be by nobles nearly equal or superior to them. If Finow were to see a child of superior rank approach or be brought near him, he perhaps would say, (and frequently does on such occasions,) take that child away! why do you bring him here, troubling me with the taboo? or some such abrupt expression: such language, however, would not be decorous from an inferior, unless he be of nearly equal rank, and then only by authority of his superior age.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis;* the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.
2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.
3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe,* flowing water (river); *vai-tapu,* springing water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro, lalo* (*ao*), down and west.

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).
2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.
2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.
3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.
4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.
5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo,* sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"
6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofo as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was
342 never closed, night nor day.

285 Such spacious habitations are necessary for the
352 chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as com-
175 posed of many attendants. But there are generally
342 small apartments contiguous to the house, in which
565 his wives and children lodge. One of his wives,
however, for the most part, slept with him in the
175 same room, in a space, separated from the rest by
342 inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high,
565 fitted up to the beams, that went across to the cen-
595 tre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable.
175 He had at different times from four to eight wives,
592 eight sons and five daughters, besides many atten-
565 dants. The children were all in great subjection
554 to him, and of different rank and dignity, according
611 to the rank of their respective mothers. For fa-
586 mily dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the
father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to
896 the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.
When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they
175 were not disposed to dance, they would retire to
513 bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social em-
175 ployment of the day took place. As they lay reclin-
513 ing at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous
521 household, that lay round him, would commence
conversations, that amused them till they all fell
asleep.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

gard to the mother. Thus this custom, springing though it did from one evil state of society, would naturally tend to prevent another, by placing the female part of the Tonguese population in that comparatively easy and honoured position, which they seem to have held from time immemorial.

The kingly authority extended over life, liberty, and property. It was a complete despotism, modified to some extent by certain customs, or well established regulations, which, having come down from ancient times, and being generally useful, were considered in the light of a traditionary code. It was also guarded somewhat by the influence of a certain coterie of the higher chiefs, called by way of eminence the *kau matua*, or "old men" of the land, whom the king was expected to consult on all matters of state or government. The lives of many of the rulers were stained with the usual crimes of heathenism, and were passed in the midst of wars and dissensions. The succession to regal power was regulated by certain well known laws or principles. It did not necessarily devolve upon the eldest son, or to the nearest of kin to the reigning monarch. The nomination of a successor was made by the departing ruler, when circumstances admitted of it, and was confirmed or otherwise by the decision of the *kau matua*, and then by the great body of the chiefs. Thus a brother might succeed to the government, to the total exclusion, for the time being, of the immediate children of the deceased or dethroned ruler. The selection of a king, however, was restricted wholly within the limits of the *Hau*, or blood royal line. But, even in such a case, we need not wonder that schemes and contests for regal power led to scenes of

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them.

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory

[6] *How'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

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in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha'a* system, therefore, is a geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga. The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa kava* or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demonstrate the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving."[16] In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha'a* membership is by its nature also a claim to high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha'a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha'a* is "optative";[17] that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line, especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal, a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While membership in a *ha'a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the next.[18] According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats, "increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";[19] a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the *ha'a* of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might assert his membership in his mother's *ha'a* rather than his father's. Other persons might completely drop out of the *ha'a* system because their claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals of high rank are recognised in other contexts.[20] The point is not only

16. Gifford 1929:157.
17. Firth 1957.
18. Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.
19. Bott 1972:219.
20. This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha'a* affiliation and access to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times.

613 S65 that commoners do not belong to *ha'a*, but also—as Morton has expressed it—that "commoners are commoners *because* they are not members of *ha'a*."[21]

When the system was first described in detail, by Gifford in 1929, 613 *ha'a* were identified as lineages. In 1959, however, Davenport analysed S65 the structure of non-unilinear descent and pointed out that "the features 612 that might clearly differentiate the stem kindred from the sept become blurred in some instances, and the Tongan *ha'a* provides an excellent [611] example."[22] A *ha'a* may be viewed as a sept—that is, a non-unilinear descent group—so far as the mode of tracing filiation is concerned. However, it is a stem kindred rather than a descent group in that there is collateral limitation on the range of descendants who are included in the group, with the branching stem consisting of the lines of titleholders. 613 It is the branching feature of the connection among titles that Sahlins[23] S65 identified in speaking of the *ha'a* as a ramage, a term introduced by 114 Firth.[24] It was the focus on the validation of rank that led Goldman to identify the *ha'a* as a status lineage;[25] and it was the emphasis on succes- [612] sion in the male line that led Gifford[26] to speak of the *ha'a* as a pat- [61] rilineage. In these analyses, the *ha'a* system was either explicitly identified as being coterminous with the kinship system, or the relationship between *ha'a*—as corporate organisations of kin—and the rest of the kinship system remained unclear.

613 It was left to Kaeppler[27] to point out that *ha'a* must not be identified S65 as comprising the totality of the kinship system. *Ha'a* are part of what 114 Kaeppler calls the societal structure. They can be understood only if they 61 are viewed as having to do with relative status among people of the highest S54 rank in modern Tongan society.[28] According to Kaeppler, "in order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small social group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within society as a whole".[29] 114 This distinction suggests Fortes' distinction[30] between the jural sphere, which Kaeppler calls the societal structure, and the domestic sphere, which Kaeppler identifies as the kinship system or the social structure. The distinction is extremely useful, although I prefer to refer to the societal sphere and the domestic sphere and view kinship as one of the frameworks for reckoning relationships within both spheres.

21. Morton 1972:52 (emphasis added).
22. Davenport 1959:563.
23. 1958.
24. 1936.
25. Goldman 1970.
26. 1929.
27. 1971.
28. Neither Beaglehole nor Aoyagi attempted to account for the finding that their commoner informants had little or no knowledge of the *ha'a* system, something that Gifford had dealt with only in very ambiguous terms (1929:29-33). Kaeppler explained that it is because *ha'a* are the affairs of chiefs and therefore not known to commoners. Her analysis suggests that the *ha'a* as they are presently constituted existed also in aboriginal times. In my view, this has yet to be proven.
29. Kaeppler 1971:174.
30. Fortes 1958.

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DOMESTIC KIN GROUPS

Within the domestic sphere, Tongans distinguish three kinds of kin-based groups.[31] There is the household group, the *'api*, which is defined in terms of common residence and consumption and includes also the sharing of land that is held locally by members of the *'api*. Members mainly and usually, but not necessarily, are all close kin to one another. Most households are based on an elementary family or on a three-generation extended family group, numbering 2 to 32 individuals with an average of 7 persons per household.[32] In many cases a household includes attached individuals—related lineally, cognatically or affinally—who have moved in for a few days, a few weeks, or even a few years.

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The second kind of grouping is the *kainga*, which is an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. From time to time, groups based on *kainga* relationships are activated. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when members of the *kainga* of close relatives of the deceased come to pay their respects. They come because of their relationship not to the deceased but to the bereaved. A *kainga*, then, is an unrestricted grouping with an ego reference, based on consanguineal kinship.

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Finally, there is the *famili*, which cuts across the *kainga*.[33] *Kainga* is mainly a relationship category while *famili* is an action group that provides goods labour, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. While *kainga* ties transcend local boundaries, the *famili* is a village-based group and, like the household, it is a local group that includes affines. Membership in the *kainga* is simply a matter of kinship relationships; membership in the famili is defined by participation in the activities of the *famili*.

The constitution of the *famili* is even more troublesome to delineate than that of the *ha'a*. Like the *ha'a*, it has features that make it look like both a non-unilinear descent group—that is, a sept—and a stem kindred; but it could also be described as a loose association of households linked by consanguineal ties. The core or stem of the membership of any one *famili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village who are related to one another as siblings or as descendants of siblings, both male and female. The total membership of a *famili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than merely transient members of their households. Membership, however, is completely optative; a person can be affiliated with a *famili* so long as he or she is able to claim a kinship connection with the famili and have that claim accepted by the *famili*'s membership, even if the geneological connection is more remote than usual.

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31. Beaglehole 1941; Aoyagi 1966; Morton 1972.
32. Fiefia 1968. These figures on household size are from the 1966 Tonga Government census. In 1970, in a village census of 145 households, I found household size numbered up to 26 individuals, with an average of 8 persons per household.
33. Aoyagi devotes considerable attention to a description of the functions and organisation of the *famili*. She uses the terms "*famili*" and "*famili* organisation" to refer to what I have identified as the *kainga* and the *famili*.

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48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

and it is this point that helps to distinguish the *famili* from the sept, or sibling descent grouping. This does not mean that a person will *say* that he is a member of one *famili* and not a member of another, but he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one *famili* rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that *famili*, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.[34] This occurs, obviously enough, when there has been a shift of residence from one village to another but it is both less obvious and more striking (to the anthropologist) when a household shifts its affiliation within the same village. Thus, in order to understand the *famili* system and the range and kinds of kin-based obligations that a person is involved in in the domestic sphere, there is little point in asking informants how many *famili* there are in the village, or who is the head of their *famili*, or even which *famili* they belong to. To study *famili* organisation one must go about at feasts counting heads and pigs and yams and ask who brought the pigs and who is cooking the yams, for not only is *famili* membership not fixed from the individual's point of view, but *famili*s themselves are changing entities.

COMPARISON OF HA'A AND FAMILI

The structure of the *famili* system is most different from that of the *ha'a* in the formation of new *famili*, especially when they are formed by the segmentation of an existing group within the village. A *famili* will begin to split up when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one segment becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation becomes too heavy or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of two or three or even more years, the descent group will become segmented through emphasis on ties within one section at the expense of ties to the rest. By the time the process is completed, there are separate *famili* for purposes of the formal and informal obligations of *famili* membership, although the members of the original *famili* will continue to act as *kainga* to one another on occasions such as weddings and funerals. In contrast to this, in the *ha'a* system, the unity of the *ha'a* is maintained despite segmentation and the creation of new titles and descent lines, for there is necessarily a continued emphasis on tracing the connection to the originating ancestors who provide the link with the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.

Despite the basic structural difference that has just been described between *ha'a* and *famili*, it should be evident that there are a number of important points of similarity between them. Possibly the most striking of these is the optative and variable nature of membership. A person will be a member of the group within which and through which he can best secure his own advantage and, if necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Such a situation might arise if a member of a *ha'a* became eligible for a title in a different *ha'a*, or if a member of a *famili* required the long-

34. Such manipulations of membership are clearly a strategy adaptive to flux. This type of organisation, therefore, is more likely to be prevalent in villages affected by migration and urbanisation and less likely to be found in rural communities outside Tongatapu.

48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
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613 612 565 557 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha'a*, especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional. Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue'aonga'aki 'ene faingamālie*, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 612 565 611 [171] The second point of similarity between *ha'a* and *famili* is that descent—or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an acceptable claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership. This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, membership is activated by the person himself: in the *ha'a*, by asserting his claim to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 613 612 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society. One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities. These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to high rank at the societal level.

[554] [565] 114 171 On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on the *ha'a* in Tonga, Sahlins[35] came to certain conclusions about essential differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society.

35. 1958.

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53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

main island groups, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu, in a single, branching segmentary system or ramage. Branching from the Tu'i Tonga lineage proceeded by collateral segmentation, and membership in segmentary lineages at all levels was determined patrilineally. Major societal segments were named *ha'a*, each composed of a number of related titled chiefs and their kinsmen of graded rank in collateral lineages (Gifford, 1929, p. 30; Goldman, 1970, pp. 310-315). *Ha'a* were ranked in terms of their claimed genealogical relation to the Tu'i Tonga line. The concept of *ha'a* was also used formerly to refer to the descent groups of particular chiefs within the major named *ha'a* and also to persons of a particular locality. Thus, *ha'a* was a flexibly used concept referring to some aggregate of people in Tongan society defined by both segmentary and territorial dimensions in different contexts.

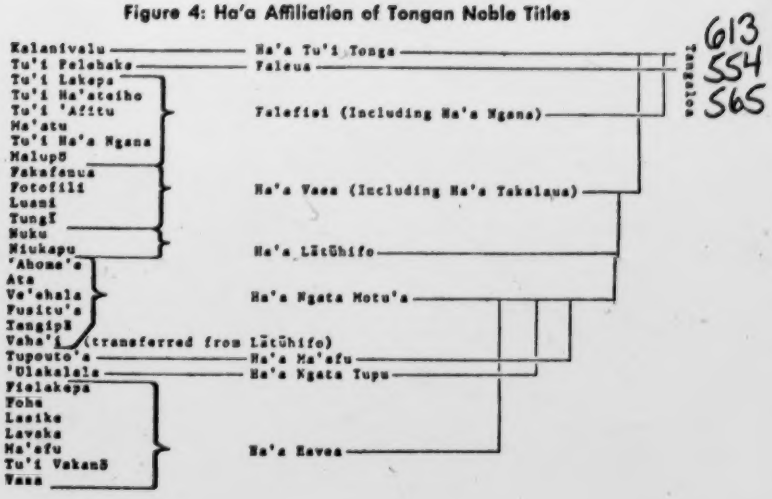
Cross-cutting the ranked segmentary system encompassing the entire society was a class system with the *Tu'i* or king as the ruler of the society, the *'eiki* or hereditary chiefs ranked in relation to the *Tu'i* through their membership in the named *ha'a*, and *tu'a* or commoners related to particular *'eiki*. An intermediate class were the *matāpules* or ceremonial attendants of the *'eiki*, who were usually commoners appointed by the chiefs.

Although it is clear that chiefs determined their status by determining their rank to other chiefs and to the king through their membership in ranked, named *ha'a* it is not apparent that commoners were as concerned with ranking themselves in terms of their particular chiefs. Fluidity in the status positions of groups in the period before the rise of the present dynasty is well attested in the accounts of early observers (Martin, 1817) and in Gifford's data (Gifford, 1929). Nevertheless, the picture of Tongan society before the reforms of Tupou I is one in which the societal status of a commoner rose and fell with the varying fortunes of his chief, but his own rank within his chief's *ha'a* was fixed. One commoner could show how he was more closely related to his chief than another commoner, but the fact remained that he was still a commoner.

Goldman argues that it is within the kinship system that a commoner was compensated for his lack of rank in the class system and for the irrelevancy of his genealogical rank in relation to his chief (Goldman, 1970, pp. 446-447). In modern Tonga, a commoner's concern for rank in his kin group is far from merely a compensation for his lack of status in the class system. It is rather precisely through a commoner's rank in his kin group that he may achieve economic and even political power in modern Tonga. Of course, such a situation presupposes the transfor-

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure 4: Ha'a Affiliation of Tongan Noble Titles



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move because the descendants of Tevita 'Unga could be outranked by the descendants of his sister Sālote if married to someone of a higher ranking *ha'a*. By the marriage of the children of Tevita and Sālote no one within the Tu'i Kanokupolu line could outrank the offspring of this union. Tupou II married Lavinia of the Tu'i Tonga line, and their daughter, Sālote, who became Tupou III, thus combined the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines. Tupou III married the highest chief of Ha'a Takalaua, so that Tupou IV combines all three important lines. Tupou IV has married Mata'aho, who descends through her mother from the Tu'i Tonga line, and their children are now the ranking individuals of all of the three main *ha'a*.

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Today, although the myth of *ha'a* fission sanctions *ha'a* rank and holds the system together, title holders of the various *ha'a* are not necessarily conscripted simply by being born to the title through primogeniture and patrilineal descent. Also, people associated with *ha'a* are not necessarily related by close blood ties to the title holder of the *ha'a*. For example, the

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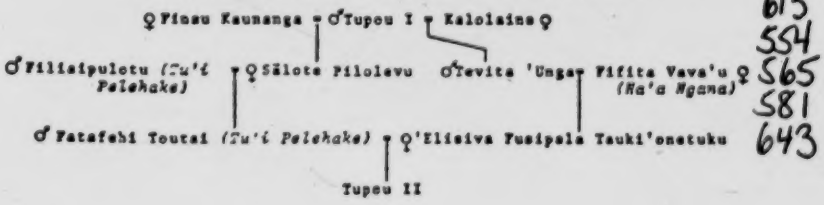
Figure 5: Cross-cousin Marriage in the Genealogy of Tupou



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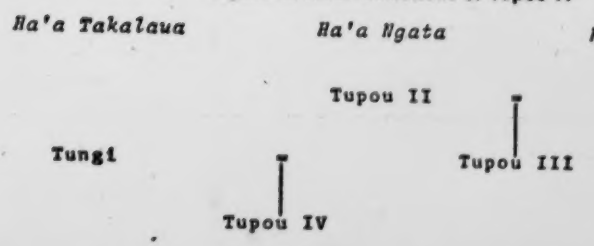
59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

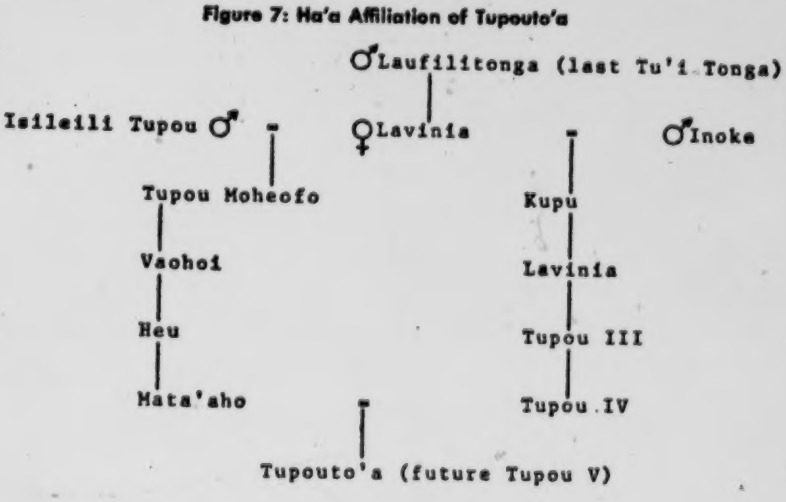
Figure 6: Ha'a Affiliations of Tupou IV



title Lavaka is now unfilled because the last Lavaka had no offspring. Many of the descendants of former holders of the title Lavaka have tried to claim the title by tracing their genealogies through both males and females. None of these claims has been acknowledged, and it is entirely up to the King to appoint a new line. When this happens, the *ha'a* associations of the Lavaka title will remain the same within the *ha'a* rank structure. Lavaka is part of Ha'a Havealahi, which originated from a younger brother of a Tu'i Kanokupolu of the Ha'a Ngata (Figure 3). The descendants of the future Lavaka will be associated with this *ha'a,* as will the descendants of the former Lavaka. Thus they will be part of the same *ha'a,* though they need not be related by close blood ties.

This myth of *ha'a* segmentation and primogeniture within the patrilineal group can also be seen in the Faleua. The originator of Faleua was the celestial half brother of the first Tu'i Tonga. The present Tu'i Faleua (Tu'i Pelehake) is the younger brother of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and inherited the title through his mother's paternal grandfather (see Figure 5). The rules of patrilineal inheritance and primogeniture may be disregarded

Figure 7: Ha'a Affiliation of Tupouto'a



59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title.

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather, Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga;* class rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral, the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina.* Kalanivalu was *liongi* to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu.

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land. It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*kato-anga*) is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vaha' akolo*" (the area that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'ahiula*), refers to the stringing of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2.

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette, which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* (Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having spoken, again defer to the chiefs.

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society.

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language. Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it. The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to *'ika moana*, and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written *lakalaka* poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government.

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra-

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9
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CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS OF KINSHIP

602 The Tongans' conscious model of kinship reciprocity is based upon their concept of the relative rank between kinsmen. In this chapter I 128 602 will describe the concept of kin ranking and the criteria used to establish relative rank. The groups and categories of people formed by Tongan notions of descent, filiation, and affiliation will also be presented and discussed.

The Study of Nonunilineal Descent

121 The literature available on Tongan kinship contains conflicting 611 statements concerning the ideology of descent and the nature of groups 114 formed by that ideology. Consequently, I will begin by describing this conflict and discussing it in terms of my observations and analysis.

114 Nonunilineal forms of descent have only recently come under de- 611 tailed discussion by anthropologists; Goodenough (1955,1970), Firth (1957), Murdock (1960), Freeman (1961), Davenport (1959), and Fox (1967) have all contributed substantially to the discussion and understanding of nonunilineal systems. Modern studies of such descent systems have shown the need for a refinement and clarification of concepts used by anthropologists for analysis of kinship. Curiously enough the concept of descent itself has been insufficiently defined and used with a variety of meanings. Ward Goodenough (1970: 39) contends that anthropolo-

114 gists have used descent to mean
611

> ...theories of biological kinship, forms of family organization, rules of kin group membership, and rules of succession to political office and to social and property intitlements as if they were all necessarily reflections of the same thing.

121 In this discussion, I will not attempt to define descent generally, but
611 rather I will specify its various meanings and functions as used in this study.

611 Within Tongan society three functions of descent can be conceptually distinguished. The first function of descent is surrounding ego with a personal kindred and defining his relationships to kin categories within the kindred. A second function of descent is structuring the succession to titles and corporeal property. A third, less clear and less definable, function associates ego with a locale and a group of kinsmen residing in the same locale.

114 The failure to separate conceptually the function of descent has
611 been a recurring problem in ethnographic reports on Tonga. Gifford
(428) (1929) overemphasized the function of inheritance of titles and land and consequently gave a destorted view of Tongan kin ideology.

(613) The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives; the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief, Ata, are reckoned as of his lineage, Ha'a Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages (Gifford 1929: 30).

114 A view opposing that of Gifford's is presented by Beaglehole (1941)
611 and Aoyagi (1966). Both of their accounts stress bilateral reckoning
612 and the personal kindred as the dominant characteristic of Tongan kinship.

000 kinship. In discussing lineage or rammage organization of the type
114 Gifford described, Beaglehole wrote, "...there are no strong lineage-
613 feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga..." (Beaglehole 1941: 71). Aoyagi, drawing on data from a village study, said "...an internal stratified system as the result of ramification...cannot be possibly found in this village" (1966: 173).

114 These two contrasting interpretations of Tongan descent are the
611 result of a failure to distinguish sufficiently the various functions of descent, and a failure to realize that different functions of descent may be associated with different social groupings and different ideologies. The failure can be attributed to the fact that at the time the researchers responsible were writing, little had been published concerning nonunilineal descent, and to the fact that Gifford, Beaglehole, and Aoyagi apparently confined their research to one segment of society and tended to generalize from the one segment to the society as a whole.

Implicit in the work of Kaeppler (1971) is an understanding of the separate functions of Tongan descent and the separate social entities
114 and ideologies fulfilling those functions. She defines ha'a as "soci-
611 etal groupings" and states that,
613

> Ha'a cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, ha'a are societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction between them) (1971: 177).

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

of lower rank. By and large, high rank is more highly esteemed than political power or political authority. Power and authority mean work and responsibility; high rank means pure privilege.

Personal rank depends not on whether one holds a title, but on sex, seniority, and descent. Sisters have higher rank than their brothers; elder siblings have higher rank than younger siblings; and the descendants of sisters have higher rank than the descendants of their brothers. Unlike a system of social class such as we are familiar with in our society, the Tongan system of rank is such that no two individuals can have the same rank. The society is not divided into ranked groups or categories; rather the conception is one of a line from the person of highest rank at the top to the person of lowest rank at the bottom. Moreover, personal rank is relative to the relationships involved. A man may be an 'aristocrat' (*'eiki*) at one funeral and a lowly kitchen worker at another, depending on how he is related to the deceased.

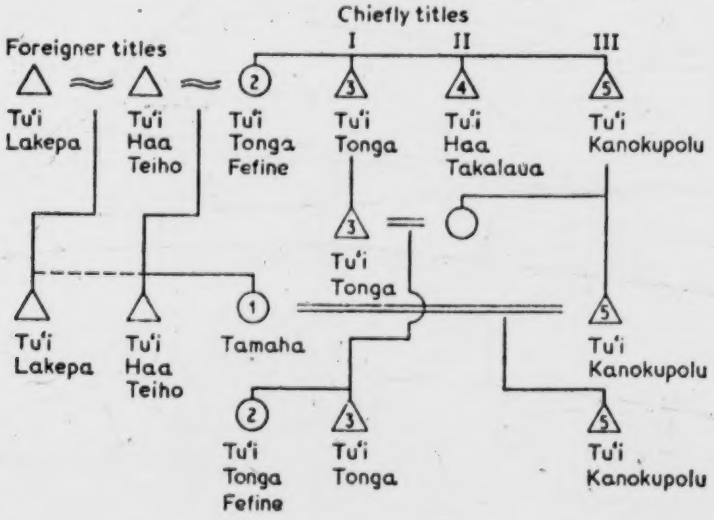
Unlike titles, which are normally inherited in the male line, personal rank is inherited from both parents. To be a great aristocrat means that one is descended, preferably through a line of eldest sisters, from the eldest sister of the former sacred King, the Tu'i Tonga, a title that is now defunct. Even the principles of rank in themselves may sometimes conflict. If a man marries a woman who is a great aristocrat and his sister marries a lowly commoner, the children of the respective marriages will be in a contradictory situation. According to one principle the children of the sister will have higher rank than the children of her brother, but according to the other principle (that descent from the Tu'i Tonga's sister confers high rank) the children of the brother will have higher rank. The resolution of such contradictions depends on the situation and the people involved, and gives rise to much gossip, ill-feeling, and amusement.

Like the dimension of political power, personal rank cuts across the other dimensions of stratification. This tendency was very marked in the traditional system. Many men of high rank

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 0U9 Tonga 0U9

643 644 114

Figure 1 Perpetual succession and affinity of Tongan titles (numerals indicate rank order of titles)



276 574 The essential features of a Tongan kava ceremonial appear to be the following:

The participants seat themselves in a circle in the manner shown by Bott in *Figure 1*, p. 208. The order of seating is precisely determined by the rank of the title held by the individual concerned. (Tongan titles are transmitted patrilineally in accordance with a system of positional succession. For example, certain titles are in younger brother relation to other titles 'but it is the titles that are brothers, not the men' (Bott, p. 211). Kava plants and food (traditionally sugar cane) are presented to the presiding chief and placed in the centre of the circle. The presiding matāpule[2] then gives orders that a kava plant be taken from in front of the presiding chief down to the kava bowl end of the circle where it is

> split up, cleaned, and then pounded by the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker who put it in the bowl.)

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

1929, pp. 80–1: also Bott, personal communication). Notionally it should have been possible to generate an individual of even more exalted personal status than the Tamaha by having this lady cohabit with the Tu'i Tonga. Tongan myth actually provides for such a possibility (Gifford, 1929, p. 81) but significantly no such alliance seems to have occurred in history (see *Figure 1*).

It will be seen that although the political leader, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, held a lower ranking title than the ritual leader, the Tu'i Tonga, the pattern of marriage was such that the personal rank status of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, derived through maternal links, might be as high or higher than that of the reigning Tu'i Tonga.

The net result of these complex games of status is thus summarized by Bott (p. 218):

> Unlike titles, which are normally inherited in the male line, personal rank is inherited from both parents. To be a great aristocrat means that one is descended, preferably through a line of eldest sisters, from the eldest sister of the former sacred King, the Tu'i Tonga, a title that is now defunct. Even the principles of rank in themselves may sometimes conflict. If a man marries a woman who is a great aristocrat and his sister marries a lowly commoner, the children of the respective marriages will be in a contradictory situation. According to one principle the children of the sister will rank higher than the children of the brother, but according to the other principle (that descent from the Tu'i Tonga's sister confers higher rank) the children of the brother will have higher rank.

This statement suffices to provide us with an initial hypothesis. The kava ceremonial contains only two classes of operations. First, the participants must seat themselves in the right order. Second, the kava and food must be ritually prepared and handed round. The position in the circle of present-day title-holders is determined by patrilineal succession in accordance with the relative ranking position of the hereditary titles, but the personal rank of the holders of these titles may be widely discrepant from the relative ranking of the titles themselves,

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

565 178 [643] [558] are aristocrats by the modern application of the old principle that true chiefs are close blood kinsmen (*sino'i 'eiki*) of the King (previously the Tu'i Tonga, but now the Tupou Kings). Secondly, title-holders who are not closely related to the King or to one of the aristocratic nobles are the gentry nobility that was mentioned. In the current situation, the gentry nobles are left to their own fortunes, which means that without *sino'i 'eiki* blood connections established through marriage or high government position, controlled from the centre, they decline in respectability and image among the people. Finally, certain key 565 178 643 titles of old Tonga, which were associated with regional, independent chiefs of considerable power, have become vacant and may be resurrected by the monarch according to his wishes. It is generally believed that younger male children of the King may be appointed to the more prestigious of these vacant titles.[1]

565 178 [171] Before the Tupou era, *'eiki* honour was closely guarded, promoted, and at least partially defined by the major chiefly kin groups themselves, much as kin groups at various levels control the appointment and manipulate the status of chiefly titles in modern Samoa. With the implementation of the noble title system, *'eiki* honour became a monopoly and a prerogative (in the control of title and estate location) of the centre in the process of consolidating the surviving chiefly system. In contemporary Tonga, the process of refining the century-long consolidation begun by Tupou I continues.

Succession to Hereditary Titles and Estates

565 175 611 428 [178] In pre-Constitutional Tonga, succession to positions of authority and titled office was patrilineally determined, based on seniority in lineality and age, and applied to all units of social organization from the domestic group headed by the *tamai* ('father'), to the local descent group headed by the *'ulu motu'a* ('elder head'), to the Kingship itself. It is worth emphasizing that patrilineality was a predominant trend, specifically in succession to positions of authority throughout the traditional polity, but it in no way had the force of law that it now has. In the traditional order, direct patrilineal succession was always contingent upon variations in personality, ability, and relative conditions of power and authority among related kin groups.

Eldest brother-younger brother succession was frequent, and some say, a preferred path of traditional succession to chiefly position. Younger brother

[1] Of the 33 noble titles, five are currently vacant and two are held jointly by a single holder, making a current total of 27 noble title-holders. Of these, three titles are held within the Royal Family. Of the remaining 24 title-holders, I estimate that five are clearly of *sino'i 'eiki* or aristocratic status, marked by their close kinship with the dynastic line, in turn developed through intermarriages of their respective lines during two or more past generations with the dynastic line. These aristocratic nobles hold important government positions. The remaining 19 noble title-holders are gentry, some recognized kinsmen of the aristocrats and the King, some totally without such relationships. The six *matāpule* estate-holders might be classed with the gentry nobility. One *matāpule* title is held jointly by a gentry noble title-holder, and one *matāpule* title-holder holds high government office.

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because of *toto mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title. Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch continues to install the nobility in the customary manner.

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of

[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngasi taha* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 0U9 Tonga 0U9

hereditary estates and routine landholding in the form of hereditary tax allotments. The noble is privileged to hold and pass on large estates, but this privilege is in fact of the same sort, albeit of a different scale, that commoners enjoy in the devolution of their much smaller estates, the tax allotments. In this sense, landholding under the law in land-scarce Tonga at whatever level, defines privilege, which is revealed in a comparison of the similarities, if not redundancy, of succession statutes applied to estates (of landed nobles) and tax allotments (of landed commoners) alike.

The major features of the succession to hereditary lands and titles as stated in Clause 111 of the Constitution and the statutes of the Land Act are: the heir must have been born in wedlock (of a formal Christian marriage). He should be the eldest male child; failing him, then any other male child (and his descendants) by seniority of age; failing him, then any female child (and her descendants) by seniority of age. Failing an heir in the direct line of succession, the title and lands revert to the line of brothers of the previous holder and their descendants in order of seniority. Failing a male heir in the line of brothers, succession proceeds through the lines of sisters.

A special stipulation pertaining to hereditary estates is that "should a female be next in succession to the title of a noble or of an hereditary chief the next male heir shall inherit the title and estates. But should such female afterwards have a legitimate issue the title and estates shall revert to the male issue of the female upon the death of the male in possession of the estate . . ." (Clause 111). Should there be no legitimate heirs to an hereditary title and estates, according to the above rules, they revert to the King for reappointment at his prerogative. No person can succeed who is insane or has been convicted of a felony since the granting of the Constitution. Nor can any person who is not of Tongan nationality succeed to land or titles.

There is a statute (Clause 40) which provides for the appointment of a Trustee by the monarch to represent and manage an hereditary title and estates which are vacant, but for which there is an heir who is still a minor (under 21 years). Trusteeship was an ambiguous issue in early succession cases because it was often not clear whether the intent of a deceased monarch (Tupou I or Tupou II) was that a person holding a title should succeed to it instead of the heir or whether he was a mere representative in the heir's minority. Such a situation was especially ambiguous when the appointee and supposed trustee was a younger brother of the previous holder, had been installed in the customary manner by the appointing monarch, and used the title and lands as if he were the proper title-holder (e.g., by attending parliament). Of course, the law was unambiguous as long as there was in fact an eldest male child heir of the previous holder. Rather, the ambiguity resided among the parties in dispute and was based on a surviving attitude, regardless of the law, that younger brother

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

succession was just as appropriate and permanent as eldest son succession, manifesting the pre-Constitutional tension between the two alternative kin positions that were both common successors to titles of deceased holders.

Through a set of ordered priorities the succession law defines a discrete and exclusive kin position to hold hereditary lands and titled honour associated with them. This formalization of customary succession had important effects on relationships within the kin groups of noble title-holders. The exclusive definition of the nobility in terms of individuals created a basic ambiguity and tension within modern noble families regarding the limits of the distribution of noble titles as a resource among kinsmen both in terms of chiefly honour and wealth. Presumably, in pre-Constitutional Tonga, titles were held by individuals according to customary rules of succession similar to the present laws, but it was chiefly honour and leadership responsibility, not primarily land as such, that was the 'thing' held and transmitted. Furthermore, chiefly honour was clearly a kin group resource, merely focussed or represented in the title. The final arbiter of succession, given customary patrilineal practice, was some process of decision-making among the kin group members. The institution of strict legal procedures governing succession removed the final determination of succession from within the chiefly kindred as well as made problematic the extent to which noble status could be claimed beyond the legally determined title-holder and his heir.

Noble Title Succession Disputes

The Context and Conditions of Succession Disputes

In line with the positive, if not enthusiastic, moves toward modernization, embodied in the nineteenth-century reforms, Tongan law makes no mention of or allowance for customary practices (except in one case which will be discussed below). In a sense, law as the vehicle of transformation was intended to be a virtual replacement for customary practices. Thus surviving customary practice has a shadowy existence outside the law without explicit indications as to what the orientation of law toward surviving custom should be. The status of Tongan law in relation to custom is in marked contrast, for example, to the situation in neighbouring Western Samoa. There, the orientation of law to custom, especially chiefly custom, is explicit: custom is neither defined nor codified but is is clearly provided for as the standard governing certain practices. For example, the Land and Titles Court in Western Samoa is a constitutionally sanctioned but customary institution through which disputes to chiefly titles and lands (the *matai* system) are adjudicated according to interpretation of uncodified customary practice.

In Tonga, disputes concerning lands and titles are the area of law most likely to raise issues of customary practice. However, since the present land

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

title and estates. X died in 1887, leaving a single male heir, Y, who was a minor at the time. On X's death, Tupou I appointed a person from the pre-Constitutional descent line of Vakalā, A, apparently ignoring X's heir, Y. A died in 1894, and Tupou II again appointed a successor B, from the original descent line. B died in 1918 without issue, and Queen Sālote appointed another successor, C, in the original descent line. In the meantime, Y had matured and had tried to make a claim to Privy Council against B for the title that was held by his father in the original appointments. Y failed in this early attempt: it was apparently not known by Tupou II or the indigenous lawyers involved in the claim exactly what X's original connection to the Vakalā title was, but it was clear that A, B, and C were in the original pre-Constitutional descent line of Vakalā. In denying Y's claim, Tupou II presumed (without evidence) that Tupou I's intent in appointing X was that he should be a temporary trustee for a proper heir in the original line of descent.

With the establishment of a Land Court, Y formally placed his claim for the Vakalā title and estates (against the holder C) before it. Given the bias of the judge to give priority consideration to the published list of Tupou I's original appointees, Y, as son of the post-Constitutional, original appointee, won his claim in 1924, and both title and estates were to be transferred from C to Y.[11]

Queen Sālote objected to this decision because she apparently knew or had learned that X had reputedly been the adopted child of the Vakalā before the Constitution. The mother of X was a classificatory sister of an earlier Vakalā's wife, and it was presumed that, as was common practice in former times, X was given in adoption (*'ohi*) by his mother to her classificatory sister (the mother of Vakalā children), before the latter had children of her own. The child adopted matrilineally was considered a member of his adopting father's descent group, and as occasionally occurred, he assumed the title of that descent group, and its responsibilities, not only because he was the eldest male child, but also because it was sometimes the will of the descent group members that an adopted child should be the title-holder. However, a male child of the adopted title-holder would not succeed to his father's title. Instead, on the death of an adopted holder, the title would return to a successor in the original blood patriline. According to this view, Tupou I appointed X to the nobility because he happened to be the traditional holder of the Vakalā title at the time. Consequently after X's death, Tupou I appointed a successor in the original descent line in accordance with the customary procedures regarding the permanent status of children matrilineally adopted into patrilines different from their patrilines of origin.

[11] Actually, all income from the estates of Vakalā was transferred immediately to Y on Privy Council confirmation of the decision of Land Court in 1927, but C, aged and blind at the time, was permitted to formally hold the title until he died (in the early 1940's).

565 428 613 602 [691] genealogical knowledge himself to commence litigation. Rather, a kinsman of his, prominent in the region of origin of the title, developed his case and urged him to claim. He won the claim and title. His competitors, supposedly of the original descent line, have been unable to attempt to reclaim the title in court because of the law of limitation of action. Although the sense of kinship between the contesting parties is very weak, it has been the strategy of the present title-holding line to claim some generalized kinship linkage with members of the contesting line, which the latter have chosen not to recognize.

[691] Some of the cases arising from the irregular appointments of Tupou I, then, constitute one extreme of kin relatedness in succession disputes where the contesting parties are linked by no or very weak recognized ties of kinship, are organized into distinct factions, and are highly self-motivated to claim or defend the title.

565 428 613 602 611 (2) A number of cases concerned descendant branches of the same patriline, varying in degrees of distance both genealogically and in terms of ongoing social contact. Disputes were most sharply factionalized where either both or one of the contestants determined a claim through a female link. This form of reckoning frequently occurred, since title-holders often failed to produce legitimate male heirs. For example, at least six present holders derive their titles through their mothers or father's mothers (e.g., Kalaniuvalu). A dispute might arise, as in the Kalaniuvalu case, where a line had been bypassed, for whatever reason, in succession, and a female of this line later had a male child who could qualify as a "legitimate male heir".

When a plaintiff reckoned his claim through his mother, then, as expected, he would be supported by his father's people, who would not share directly in the title honour, but would undoubtedly enjoy partial or complete control over the title-related resources (the estates). Thus, claims derived through female links tended to encourage factionalized confrontation, if only because the interests of a separate patriline, that of the claimant's or defendant's father, were involved.

Weakly articulated to a concept of patrilineality through a mutually recognized, generations-old tie, succession dispute factions were composed of discrete family units, in turn comprising individuals who would be close enough to the claimant or defendant (in terms of genealogy and/or ongoing social interactions and exchanges) to share effectively in his honour or resources should he hold the title. The presumed effectiveness of traditional ideologies of kinship amity and rank in subduing or mediating competition and status rivalry among an inclusive category of mutually recognized kin is manifestly limited in such succession disputes. Rather, family units of greatly varying fortunes within the chiefly patriline confront each other in court for a prize of honour and wealth that is allocated by law to an individual rather than diffused among a network of kinsmen associated with the title.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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643 644 554 562 social and ceremonial status because of her *kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. But the Tamaha did not have highest rank and little effective power, this being necessary in order to avoid power play at this high level. This delicate matter was handled in a very sophisticated manner. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was of such high rank that no Tongan was high enough to marry her, so she was married to a foreigner—a Fijian. Thus her children, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the [611] society, belonged to a foreign line—the Fale Fisi. Rulers did not come from foreign lines so there could be no problem in mixing succession to title with *kāinga* rank.

644 554 [612] 'Latoo' (Latunipulu), at the time of Cook, was a son of the Tu'i Tonga's sister and thus higher in *kāinga* status. Latunipulu's title was Tu'i Lakepa, which is the senior line of the Fale Fisi. He in turn was outranked by his sister, the Tamaha Moungalakepa, whom Cook also met. When the Tamaha is not present, however, one of her siblings can take her place, thus the Latoo in these early accounts was an exalted personage indeed—but not the king.

643 174 554 In order to appreciate the significance of Cook's Journals in these matters, one must also understand a third dimension of Tongan rank—i.e., the ranking of chiefly titles, which originated by collateral segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line. The Tu'i Tonga, having power of life and death over their subjects, often found themselves very unpopular and several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated. In about the fifteenth century the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga appointed his younger brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was given temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. Eventually the second line lost in status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. All these lines descended ultimately [611] from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

175 643 613 634 554 [574] [648] Mariwaggy (Maealiuaki) mentioned in Cook's third voyage accounts was the fourteenth Tu'i Takalaua and later the eighth Tu'i Kanokupolu—the titular head of Ha'a Ngata. Otago (Siale'ataongo) belonged to the Ha'a Ngata line. Feenaugh (Finau Ulukalala Feletoa) of Vava'u, was of even lower rank—being a member of Ha'a Ngata Tupu, which descended from the fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finau was a great warrior and gave a lavish entertainment for Cook at which there was so much food that Cook remarked it 'exceeded any present I had ever before received from an Indian Prince' (Beaglehole 1967: 108). Finau's line, though he tried to make Cook believe he was king of all the Friendly Isles (1967: 100), was of a line far inferior in rank to the Tu'i Tonga. When Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, finally appears on Cook's stage, Finau put Paulaho's foot to his head and retired from the cabin, not being able to eat or drink in the Tu'i Tonga's presence. This was because Finau traced his ancestry, according to the societal segmentation, back to the Tu'i Tonga and was thereby related to him.

175 634 644 571 But Finau was not so related to Latunipulu and we are fortunate to have Cook's description of the interaction between them. They simply ignored each other. Cook tells us that Latunipulu was in a canoe under the stern of the *Resolution* and Finau 'was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other' (Beaglehole 1967: 111). Here we see that the Tamaha has no general power over

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

> 190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[428] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[591] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an